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THE

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Black Politics

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The Sumner/Chase Tickets • Black Mayors

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FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT

BLACK POLITICS ISSUE

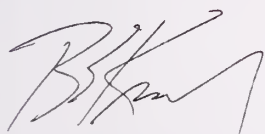
Dear APIC members;

My parents first took me to the Smithsonian American History Museum when I was six years old. One of my most poignant memories is the display of the gray wool overcoat John Lewis wore during the Selma march. It was a typical store-bought 1960's style coat, nothing particularly special or fancy. What drew and sustained my attention were the numerous rips and shreds. These were caused by vicious, trained attack dogs which bit and pounced on Lewis with the intent of tearing into his flesh as he accompanied Martin Luther King and others across the Edmund Pettis Bridge. Of course, the dogs, like all trained animals, were blindly following the commands of their owners. Its often theorized that man is distinguished from animals by his ability to reason. As I grow older (and hopefully wiser), but still maintain a vivid and indelible recall of that violently torn coat, I believe that theory can be misapplied.

John Lewis is now a United States Congressman, serving an Atlanta area district. I asked him to honor our organization and readership with an essay about his political experiences for this issue of APIC's journal, but unfortunately time did not permit him to do so. In reviewing the content of this *Keynoter*, I believe enough material is presented to describe and portray the political influence and rise of our country's African American citizens. In actuality, the topic is tremendous in scope and breadth; volume upon volume of scholarly works are devoted to the politics of slavery, Reconstruction and Civil Rights. Our editor, Michael Kelly, has done an outstanding job in taking such an umbrella of a topic and focusing our attention on key elements of this critically important aspect of our national history.

Every quarter, the *Keynoter* is distributed to all Capitol Hill congressional and senate offices. Thus, Congressman Lewis, along with his colleagues, will be receiving his copy. So, here's a personal message: Congressman Lewis, your plain gray overcoat, torn and ripped in your courageous pursuit of justice, remains an image affixed in my mind since childhood. I have shared that image here with others. For that contribution, I must say thank-you.

Yours in progress,



Brian E. Krapf



Slave Tags: Windows to a Dark Past

By Dr. Sol Taylor

Some of the more noteworthy items under the heading of "tokens" are the rare slave tags issued by the city of Charleston and Charleston Neck from 1800 to 1865. These copper tags were a form of licenses issued to slave owners who leased out their slaves for specific jobs. The city earned a fee of \$2 per year, per tag, and the slave owner earned a fee for the slave's earnings as a leased-out laborer.

The tags came in various shapes — round, diamond and square with cut corners. Each bore a number of issue, the name of Charleston, South Carolina (or Charleston Neck), and the year of issue. Each tag was holed at the top and was required to be worn by the hired slave during his or her period of servitude.



EDITOR'S MESSAGE

This issue has been many years in coming and is very much a labor of love. No doubt some readers will not enjoy the topic but that is true whatever topic is chosen.



Others may find many articles to be of interest but feel a bit of discomfort at an issue focused on a single ethnic group. The only other time *The Keynoter* did such a thing was the Spring 1985 issue which featured the Irish in American politics.

But the African-American community has a somewhat different experience in American political history than other groups. Slavery, emancipation, enfranchisement followed by disenfranchisement, segregation and Jim Crow are unique to Black Americans and deserve a special focus.

Gathering this material was an effort, and I owe special thanks to Fred Strickland, one of the hobby's premiere collectors of Black Americana.

Michael Kelly
Editor

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Features

- 8 Major Party Black Candidates
- 12 Minor Party Black Candidates
- 16 The 'Equality' Buttons
- 18 William Craft--From Slavery to Public Office
- 20 Adam Clayton Powell Jr., "Keep the Faith, Baby!"
- 22 The Sumner/Chase Satirical Tickets
- 27 Black Mayors
- 30 National Sharecroppers Week and the UPWA
- 32 Woodrow Wilson and 'Birth of a Nation'
- 33 Marcus Garvey for President
- 34 Black Republicans

ILLUSTRATIONS--The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Al Anderson, Steve Baxley, Larry Brokofsky, Germaine Broussard, Robert Fratkin, Tom French, John Gingerich, Heritagegalleries.com, Brian Krapf, Henry Michalski, Paul Rozycki and Fred Strickland.

FRONT COVER--An engraving taken from James G. Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield* (2 vols. Norwich, Conn.: Henry Bill Publishing Co. 1884). It pictures five Black Republican members of Congress (from upper left to lower right): Sen. Hiram Revels of Mississippi, Rep. James Rapier of Alabama, Sen. Blanche Bruce of Mississippi, Rep. Joseph Rainey of South Carolina and Rep. John Lynch of Mississippi.

SUBMISSIONS--This is your publication. Please feel free to share your ideas, suggestions, illustrations and stories. The Keynoter is delighted to share pictures of interesting political Americana with its readers. When submitting an illustration, send it as an .eps, .jpg or .pdf file to mkelly@mcc.edu. Illustrations should be in color and submitted in digital format with at least 300 dpi resolution (preferably higher). Files must be created at 100% of actual size or larger (smaller risks losing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300 dpi as TIF, GIF, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop.

If you don't have access to a scanner or high-resolution digital camera, you can take your items to graphic service bureaus, such as Kinko's, and have them scanned in the specification mentioned above. You can then send the file by e-mail, on a CD or on a zip disk. If sending by zip disk, please supply return address.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The last edition of The Keynoter brought back bittersweet memories. 25 years ago, a family friend gave me the "I'm Daft About Taft" button with ribbon featured in the Spring 2007 Keynoter. It occupied a prominent position on a frame of 3-1/2" buttons on my wall. Shortly thereafter, the Army moved me to Germany. Naturally a lot of the family's belongings went in to storage. The movers came and everything went smoothly, until they were about to pull away with the door closed, locked, and sealed. It was then that I noticed the frame of large buttons behind a door. Not thinking properly, I ran out to the truck and gave the driver the frame and asked if he would add it to our belongings. He nodded and said, "Sure". Eight years later, when new movers delivered our goods out of storage, not surprisingly, the frame was not there. There had to have been 30 large celluloid buttons, to include the football shaped Ike button. Naturally, the company had no knowledge of the frame or the missing buttons. Insurance covered some of the fiscal loss, but nothing could replace the story behind some of those buttons.

I now know the story behind the "I'm Daft about Taft" item, and will look to pick it up the next opportunity I get.

Col. Mark R. Lindon (APIC #4943)

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APIC NEWSLETTER AND CALENDAR OF EVENTS: Harvey Goldberg, Editor, PO Box 922, Clark NJ 07066.

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All correspondence about content should be addressed to:

Editor

Michael Kelly
1901 Montclair Avenue
Flint, MI 48503
mkelly@mcc.edu

Illustrations Editor

Germaine Broussard
watrtwitch@erols.com

Design & Production

Michael Tews
mtews@mcc.edu

Executive Editor

Robert Fratkin
coxfr@erols.com

All correspondence about mailing and obtaining copies should be addressed to:

Member Services

Mark D. Evans
P.O. Box 55
Avon, New York 14414
MemberServices@apic.us

Editorial Board

Robert Fratkin
Harvey Goldberg
Michael Kelly
Brian Krapf
Edmund Sullivan
John Gingerich

Contributing Editors

Steve Baxley
Stephen Cresswell
David Frent

Contributors

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Steve Baxley | Paul Rozycki |
| Robert Fratkin | Fred Srtickland |
| Brian Krapf | Sol Taylor |

Advertising Director

Mark D. Evans
AdDirector@apic.us

National Advertising Manager

Michael Belefski
cpccorp@verizon.net

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Major Party Black Candidates

By Paul Rozycki

As Barack Obama's candidacy gains strength the standard headline is "First African-American Candidate for President." While Obama may have the best chance to actually become the first African-American president, he is hardly the first Black candidate to run. Many African-Americans have run for the top prize in American politics. To be sure, most of the candidates are represented on minor party tickets, but a significant number have also made a run for the presidential nomination of the major parties.

Of the two major parties the Republican Party, as the party of Lincoln, would seem to be a natural to be the first party to nominate a Black for the presidency. The GOP was the first party to admit Black delegates and the first to nominate a Black national convention chairman (John Lynch of Mississippi in 1884).

After the election of 1876, when the Democrats were returned to power in the states of the old Confederacy, the Republican Party faced deep divisions between those who wanted to create an all white Republican Party in response to rising segregation (the Lily Whites) and those who wanted to continue to reach out to Black voters (the Black and Tans). In 1920, the Texas Black and Tan Republicans bolted the party after the 1920 Republican National Convention recognized the Lily White delegates (who favored Warren Harding) and rejected the Black and Tan delegates (who favored Leonard Wood). The Black and Tans went home and nominated their own slate of presidential electors (although without an actual presidential candidate). The Black and Tan Republican slate won 27,247 votes but failed to change the situation, as the 1924 GOP convention also seated the Lily Whites.

Though Black voters were strongly supportive of the Republicans in the years following the Civil War, and there have been a number of African-American Republicans elected to other offices (particularly during Reconstruction), there have been few African-American presidential candidates from Republican ranks.

In 1966, Republican Edward Brooke of Massachusetts was elected to the U.S. Senate, becoming the first Black in the Senate since Reconstruction, and Brooke's name quickly appeared on many lists as a possible running mate for Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford (several Brooke VP buttons exist).

Likewise, General Colin Powell was widely touted as a GOP presidential or vice-presidential candidate (sparking many buttons) but never actually announced, although he did rise to the post of Secretary of State.



Colin Powell was so popular in 1992 that buttons appeared boosting him as the running mate for both Republican George Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton. In 2004, former Illinois Senator Carol Moseley Braun ran for President. Interestingly, Illinois also elected Barack Obama U.S. Senator. Obama is now running for president and won his Senate seat by defeating Alan Keyes, who had previously run for President.

The party would have to wait until 1996 for its first active Black presidential candidate, when diplomat and talk show host Alan Keyes ran against Bob Dole for the nomination. He tried again in the 2000 Republican primaries, garnering 21% in the Utah primary in a losing effort against George Bush.

While the Republicans were admired by Black voters as the party of Lincoln and emancipation after the Civil War, the Democrats were viewed as the party of the Old South, white supremacy and segregation. Well over a half century passed before Black voters began to shift to the Democratic column. Three key events led to the shift: The movement of Blacks from the south to the urban north after WWI, the appeal of FDR and the New Deal and the Democratic Party's support of civil rights in the 1960s.

By the time of the civil rights movements of the 1960s Black voters were firmly in the fold of the Democratic Party and a number of African-Americans attempted the road to the White House in the Democratic Party.

At the tumultuous 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, the Rev. Channing Phillips of Washington D.C. became the first Black to receive votes for the presidential nomination at a major party convention. Julian Bond was also nominated for vice president, but withdrew because he was under the required age of 35.

In 1972 New York Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm ran against George McGovern, Henry "Scoop" Jackson and George Wallace in the primaries. She was not only the first African-American woman to run for president in a major party, but also the first elected to Congress, where she served from 1968-83.

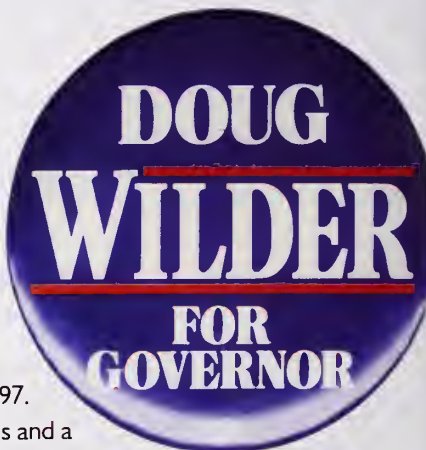
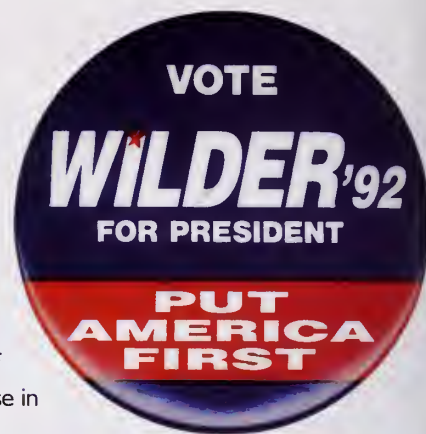
A little over a decade later, she was followed by Jesse Jackson and his 'Rainbow Coalition' in the 1984 and 1988 contests. In 1984 he won five primaries and gathered over 3.5 million votes in losing the presidential nomination to Walter Mondale. In 1988 Jackson came back even stronger, winning 11 primaries and nearly 7 million votes, losing the nomination to Michael Dukakis. For a short time he was considered the front runner in the race after an impressive win in Michigan.

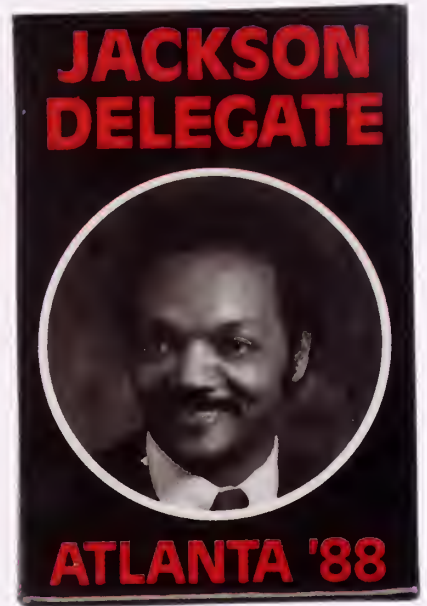
In 1992, Virginia Governor Doug Wilder sought the Democratic presidential nomination but failed to draw much national support. Wilder was, however, the first Black governor elected by popular vote. For more on Wilder, see *The Keynoter* Spring 2000 issue.

The 2004 campaign brought Illinois Senator Carol Moseley Braun and Rev. Al Sharpton to the presidential competition. Braun, who was the first Black woman elected to the U.S. Senate, lost her reelection bid in 1998 following charges of misuse of campaign money. In 2004 she entered the presidential contest, dropped out before the Iowa caucuses, and endorsed Howard Dean.

Long-time civil rights activist Reverend Al Sharpton also made a run for the presidential nomination in 2004, finally stepping aside to endorse John Kerry. Sharpton had run unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1988, 1992, 1994 and 1994. He also ran for Mayor of New York City in 1997.

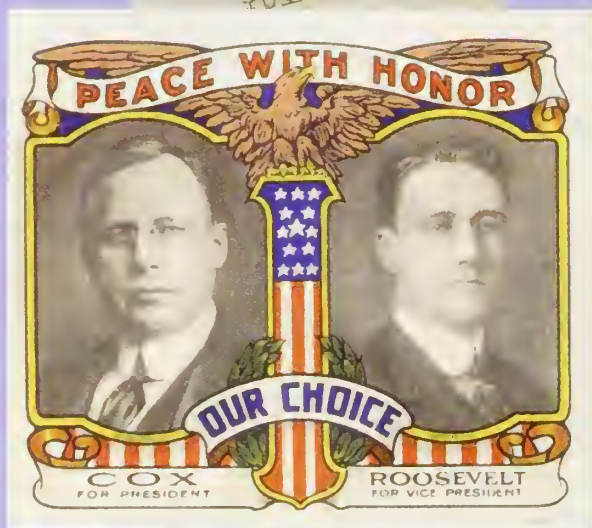
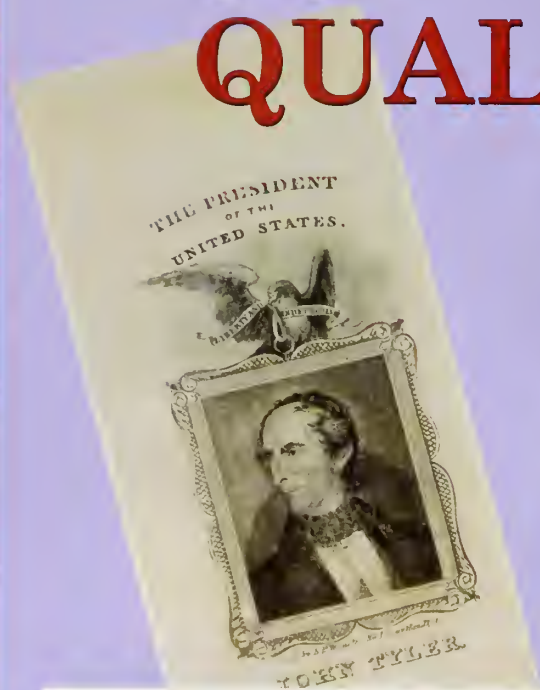
This year, Illinois Senator Barack Obama is currently challenging Hillary Clinton, John Edwards and a half dozen other Democrats for the nomination. After receiving great media coverage Obama has moved up in the polls and is considered a very serious contender for the 2008 nomination.





Before Obama, Jesse Jackson was the most viable Black presidential candidate. Massachusetts Senator Edward Brooke was also widely supported for a place on the Republican ticket with both Nixon in 1972 and Ford in 1976.

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Robinson for Borough President

James H. Robinson was the Liberal-Independent candidate for New York City's Manhattan Borough President in 1953. Founder of the Presbyterian Church of the Master, Reverend Robinson was a civil rights activist and worked with youth groups throughout his life. In that role, during the 1940s and 50s, he knew and worked in organizations with people later identified as Communists.

He voluntarily appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1965 and testified about people with whom he had associated during that period. He said, "People with ulterior motives...end up trying to use you to make capital for their ends."

Rev. Robinson was less militant but still very active in the 1960s. He worked with the Peace Corps, the NAACP Youth Outreach Program and Operation Crossroads, an effort to strengthen relationships between African and American youth. He died in November 1972.



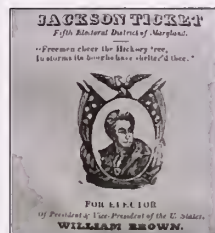
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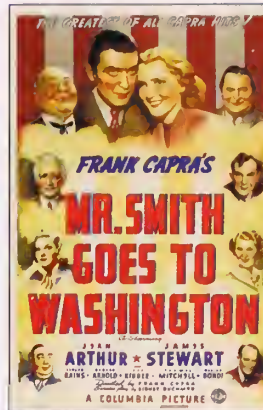


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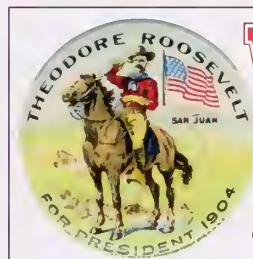
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Minor Party Black Candidates

By Paul Rozycki

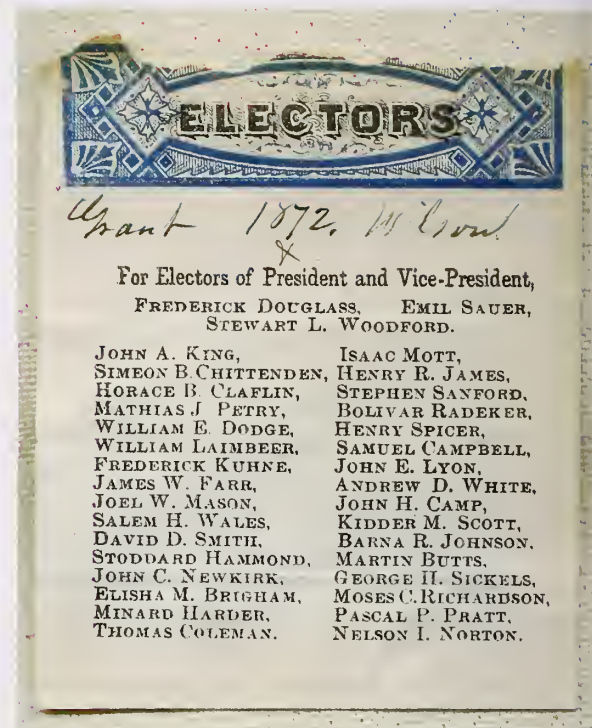
Many minor parties have nominated African-American candidates for either president or vice president. Most of them have been parties of the left that have traditionally advocated minority causes and candidates. Others were parties specifically geared towards Black candidates and causes.

The first African-American to be nominated on a national ticket was Frederick Douglass, an ex-slave and leader of the abolitionist movement. In 1872 Douglass was nominated for Vice President on the Equal Rights Party along with women's rights advocate Victoria Woodhull, who ran for president. By some accounts Douglass, who supported Grant in 1868, did not acknowledge his nomination or campaign for the ticket.

In the 20th century many socialist parties have nominated Blacks for the top positions on their ticket. The U.S. Communist Party has a long tradition of nominating African-Americans for its vice presidential slot.

In 1932, 1936 and 1940, the party nominated James W. Ford to run with William Z. Foster (1932) and Earl Browder (1936, 1940). Ford was born into a middle class family, served in France during WWI and attended Fisk University. After facing discrimination in the workplace he joined the Communist Party and became the head of its Harlem section.

In 1952 the Communist Party did not run any of its own candidates, but supported the Progressive Party, which nominated African-American Charlotte Bass for vice president.



Despite being nominated for Vice President by the Equal Rights Party in 1872, Frederick Douglass served as one of President Grant's presidential electors.





In 1968 Charlene Mitchell, the first African-American woman to run for president, was on the ballot for the Communist Party in two states along with her running mate Michael Zagarell. They garnered slightly over 1,000 votes.

In 1972, '76, '80 and 1984, Gus Hall was the presidential nominee for the Communist party and he ran with two African-American VP running mates. In 1972 and '76, he ran with Jarvis Tyner, executive vice chair of the party. In 1980 and '84

Black activist Angela Davis was his vice presidential choice. Davis left the party in the early 1990s and is currently a professor of Feminist Studies at the University of California and prison reform activist.

The Socialist Workers Party also nominated its share of African-Americans for president and vice president. In 1964 Clifton DeBerry was the presidential nominee of the party. In 1980 he was one of three different presidential candidates that the party fielded in different states. (The others were Andrew Pulley and Richard Congress.) DeBerry had been a member of the Communist Party and moved to the Socialist Workers Party when he grew critical of Stalinism.

In 1968 Paul Boutelle of Newark, N.J. was the vice-presidential nominee of the SWP. Andrew Pulley ran as VP on the 1972 Socialist Workers Party ticket (with Linda Jenness) and was one of three presidential nominees on the 1980 ticket.



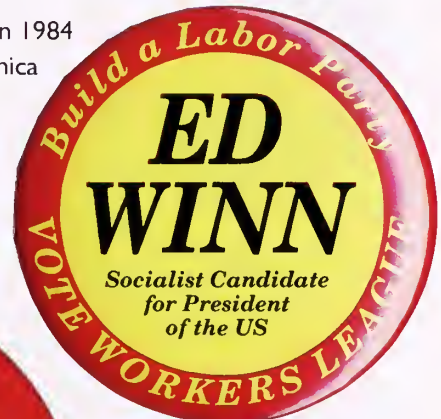
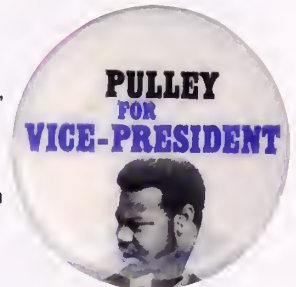
Willie Mae Reid, an activist for Black women's equality, was the vice presidential nominee of the SWP in 1976 (with Peter Camejo) and 1992 (with James Warren). She also ran for Mayor of Chicago and is the author of several books on Black women's struggle for equality.

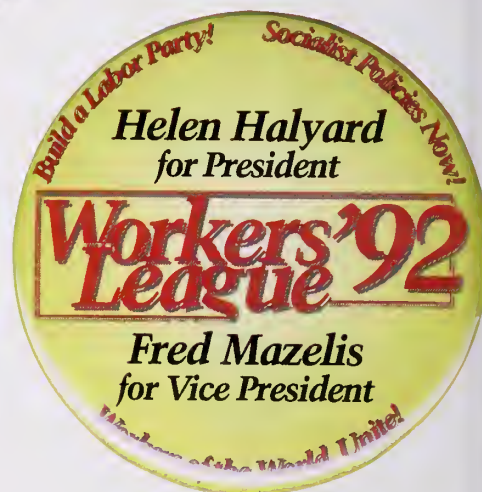
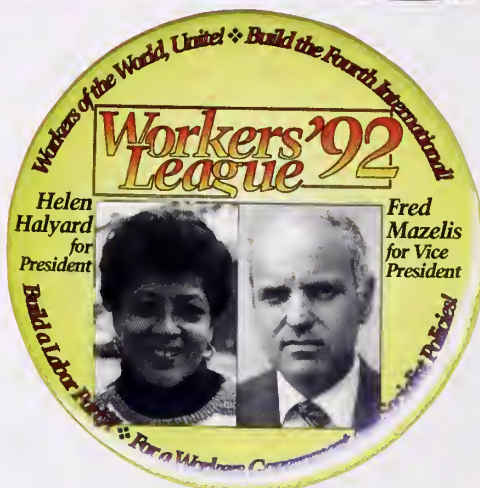
Melvin T. Mason was the 1984 presidential nominee of the SWP. Mason, President of the Monterey Peninsula branch of the NAACP, ran with Andrea Gonzales and Matilde Zimmerman (in different states).

The Workers League Party, which became the Socialist Equality Party in 1994, nominated two African-American candidates, who traded places over several elections. In 1984 and 1988 Ed Winn was the presidential nominees and

Helen Halyard was the VP choice. In 1992 Halyard was the presidential nominee.

The Workers World Party nominated Gavrielle Holmes and Larry Holmes for president in 1984 (depending on the state), Larry Holmes for president in 1988 and vice president in 1992. Monica Moorehead was the presidential candidate in 1996 and 2000. Larry Holmes was an early organizer of the Workers World Party and a harsh critic of American foreign policy. He was expelled from the U.S. military for his criticism of the Vietnam War. Monica Moorehead is a union activist and had been a Communist Party organizer. She authored books on feminism and Marxism.





Many African-Americans ran on minor party tickets. Also on this page are

buttons from campaigns by Sixties Black Panthers Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. In the lower right corner is a button supporting Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan for president, although Farrakhan was never formally on any ballot.





The New Alliance Party also put several African-Americans on the ballot. In 1984, Dennis Serrette, an African-American trade union organizer was the presidential nominee of the party. He was followed by Lenora Fulani, a psychologist and social worker, who was the presidential nominee of the NAP in 1988 and 1992. In 1988 she was said to be the first independent Black candidate to be on the ballot in all 50 states. Fulani later became affiliated with the Patriot Party, one of the several groups that struggled for control of Ross Perot's Reform Party before the 2000 election. She briefly endorsed Pat Buchanan during the election and then switched her support to Natural Law Party nominee John Hagelin, and unsuccessfully sought the vice presidential nomination of that party.



There are still many minor party candidates to be chosen for the 2008 election, but at this point, an African-American candidate, Lanakila Washington, has announced that he running for president on the Humanistic Party ticket. Mr. Washington is the founder of the party which advocates racial and religious equality and respect for all peoples.

Several Black nominees for president emerged from parties organized specifically for African-Americans or African-American causes.

In 1904, thirty six states sent delegates to the first and only convention of the National Liberty Party in St. Louis. They nominated George Edwin Taylor, president of the Negro National Democratic League, as their presidential candidate. The party faded shortly after its formation.

In 1960, in the state of Alabama, the Afro-American Party was formed and ran Rev. Clennon King and Reginald Carter for president and vice president. They ran only in Alabama and received about 1500 votes.

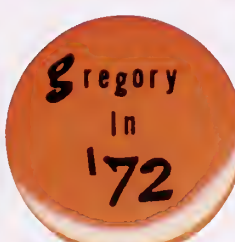


By the late 1960s the Black Power movement was in full flower and the Peace and Freedom party held its first national convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Eldridge Cleaver defeated Dick Gregory for the presidential nomination. In response, Gregory reversed the party name and formed the Freedom and Peace Party in several states. Both parties ran with several vice presidential nominees.

Eldridge Cleaver was an active member of the Black Panther party, one of the major 'black power' groups of the time. He served time in prison and wrote *Soul on Ice*, an influential book of the Black Power movement of the 1960s. He died in 1998.

Dick Gregory is an activist, comedian, entertainer and nutritionist who was involved in the civil right movement. He ran unsuccessfully against Mayor Richard Daley in 1967 and then for president on the Freedom and Peace Party

in 1968. In recent years he has been active with a nutritional program marketing his "Bahamian Nutritional Drink."



The 'Equality' Buttons

By Michael Kelly



The first Equality button, based on the Charles Thomas print.

One of the most popular buttons in political Americana is the Theodore Roosevelt "Equality" button. Selling for several thousand dollars when it makes a rare appearance in the marketplace, the button reflects an event from 1901 when President Theodore Roosevelt invited prominent African-American educator

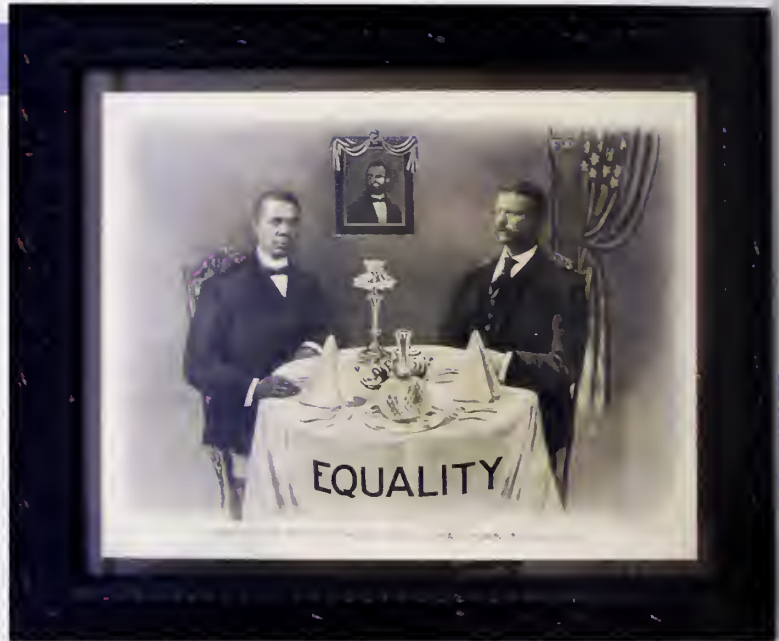
Booker T. Washington to lunch at the White House. For fuller details, see Dr. Roger Fischer's article "Teddy and Equality" in the Summer 1981 *Keynoter* and this author's article "A Second Look at the Equality Buttons" in the Fall 1990 *Keynoter*. A political cartoon referring to the dinner also appears in the "Uncle Hank Goes to Washington" article in the Winter 1994 *Keynoter*.

As those articles explain, the lunch invitation outraged the strict racial etiquette of the segregationist South and TR was harshly attacked for this breach of the era's racial code. However, the meal inspired positive comment as well. A Chicago Republican named Charles Thomas produced a handsome print (shown above) picturing President Roosevelt and Dr. Washington seated together at the table with the legend "Equality."

That print was turned into a button which soon appeared on the lapels of Black Republicans and others across the North. A second version of the button appeared in the border states with a different agenda. As TR himself wrote, "These campaign buttons were distributed by the Democratic Committees not merely in Tennessee but in Maryland, in southern Indiana, in West Virginia, in Kentucky, and elsewhere where it was believed that they could do damage to the Republican cause, and especially to me. The Tennessee Republican leaders were hurt materially by the use of this button, and it was one of the disreputable campaign tricks which they had to meet and try to overcome."

A newspaper of the time described it this way, "Several months ago a button appeared showing the President and a negro dining together. It was labeled 'Equality' and was calculated to make Roosevelt unpopular among people to whom the race question is a live issue...Senator Gorman, a Democratic aspirant for the presidency, is said to have had a hand in circulating the button, believing it would harm the President seriously in the southern states."

The second version (which exists in at least three varieties) differed from the original in several respects. While TR was still there, the portrait of Dr. Washington had changed. No longer is it an accurate picture of the educator. Instead, the Black man is larger, darker and thicker-haired, seated in front of the table instead of behind it, and drinking whiskey. These changes were designed to inflame the delicate sensibilities of white racists and prohibitionists.



These versions of the Equality button appear designed to inflame white racists.

Dating back to Dr. Fischer's 1981 article, observers have been aware that yet a third version of the "Equality" button had been created, although the hobby hadn't actually seen a copy. As a newspaper of the era reported, "The other 'Equality' button is based on the same idea, but differently applied. It shows President Roosevelt leading a colored regiment up the hill at San Juan."

For many years collectors wondered at this third version of the "Equality" button. In 1998, it surfaced for the first time in an auction run by Theodore Hake (APIC #292). Hake's auction featured not one, but two versions of the military "Equality" button. The button exists in both a full color and a black on sepia variety. Topped by the "Equality" legend, it carries the additional legend "San Juan Hill, July 2 '98." This points out that when Colonel Theodore Roosevelt led his famous "Rough Riders" up San Juan Hill, they were backed by the black soldiers of the 9th and 10th cavalry units.

This fact is reflected in the decommissioning ceremony of the "Rough Riders" as described by historian Stefan Lorant in his book *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*; "The Rough Riders cheered, and the men who stood behind them watching the ceremony cheered too; they belonged to the 9th and 10th Colored Cavalry regiments. Recognizing them, Roosevelt complimented the colored men on their heroism. He recalled, 'The Spaniards called them 'smoked Yankees' but we found them to be an excellent breed of Yankee.'"

It is one of the recurring pleasures of this hobby that scholarship and collecting work together to reveal the past more clearly. Just as the calculations of astronomers revealed planets before telescopes could see them, the research of political Americana's scholars reveal material before it is found. Then the industry of collectors sifting through auctions, estate sales, flea markets, antique stores and garage sales gathers the material to where it can be seen and noted. The discovery of these new "Equality" buttons shows the historical value of our hobby in a clear light.

There is an extremely rare button from the 1904 campaign that directly relates to the Equality dinner. It is a jugate of TR and his Democratic opponent, Alton B. Parker. Beneath TR is a married couple with a white woman and a black man. Under Parker, is a white couple. The button proclaims, "It's up to you. Take your choice."

An even more vulgar button has been found that pictures a monkey dressed in a formal dinner jacket seated at a table. "Have supper with me" the button invites.

Who knows if even more unknown versions of the Equality button are out there waiting to be discovered by a patient collector?



The Election of Roosevelt Means BOOKER NIGGERISM.

The Goddess of Liberty bowed her head;
Columbia frowned with vigor;
The eagle got mad, tore up the flag,
When Roosevelt dined with a nigger.

The bull pawed up the earth,
The cow jumped over the moon;
The eagle spewed on the American flag
When Teddy sat down with a COON.



Above: Handout card attacking the TR/Washington dinner. Right: Cartoon from 1902 relating to that controversy.

William Craft--From Slavery to Public Office

By Brian Krapf

It is an honor to present the remarkable William Craft, a former Georgia slave who, during the Reconstruction era, was elected to the Georgia Senate. Although I have studied and collected Georgia's political history for the past thirty years, I never heard of William Craft until last year, when I was offered the ballot illustrating this article. While researching Craft, I found his story absolutely captivating. When *Keynoter* editor Michael Kelly informed me this issue of APIC's journal was to highlight African-American politics, I immediately knew Craft's compelling history must be included.

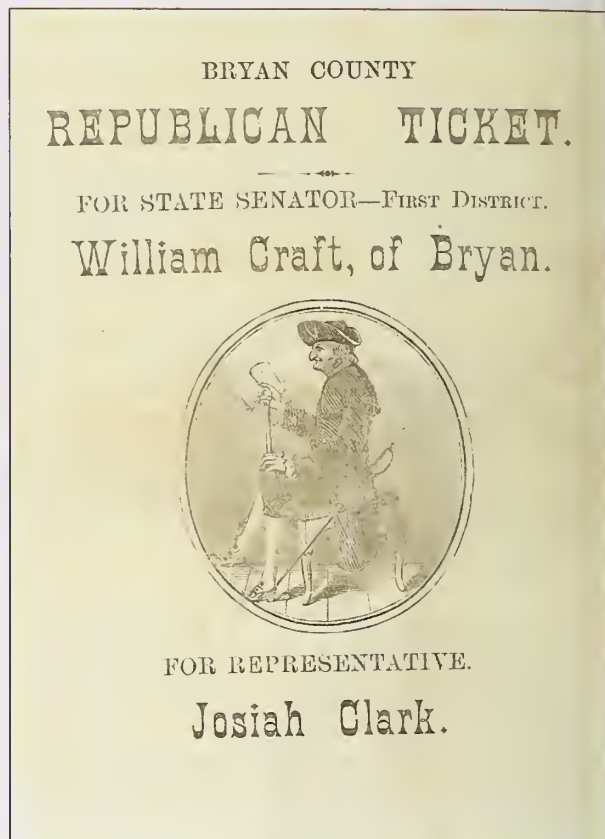
William Craft was born a slave in 1824, in Macon, Georgia. There, along with his family, he worked on a cotton plantation. His wife, Ellen, was born in Clinton, Georgia in 1826, to a bi-racial slave woman and her master. As a result, Ellen was light skinned and often mistaken as a member of her father's white family. This infuriated her mistress and as a result, age 11, she was presented as a wedding gift to a daughter in Macon. There she met William, whom she married in 1846.

In 1848, the Crafts devised an escape plan, which involved Ellen posing as a white male slave holder, traveling with "his" slave, William. This plan required several levels of deception. Because societal and cultural rules prohibited a white woman to travel alone with a male slave, Ellen had to pretend to be not only white, but a white man. She cut her hair, changed her gait, and wrapped her jaw in bandages to disguise her lack of a beard. To mask her illiteracy, she wrapped her right arm in a sling to preclude signing papers. If asked, she explained she was an invalid, traveling North to receive medical care. Under this guise, the Crafts traveled from Georgia to Pennsylvania by all means of public transportation – train, steamer and ferry – without being discovered. Likewise, they stayed in hotels and ate in restaurants. Their journey ended on Christmas Day, 1848, when they arrived in Philadelphia.

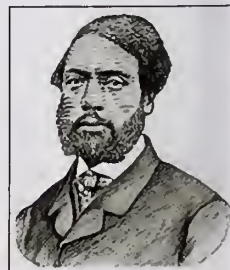
Once in Philadelphia, the Crafts were quickly befriended by prominent abolitionists William Wells Brown and William Lloyd Garrison, who recognized the Crafts' story could be utilized as powerful anti-slavery propaganda. Within a short while, the Crafts moved to Boston and began their careers as abolitionist lecturers. However, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which mandated fugitive slaves living anywhere in the United States must be returned to their owners, jeopardized their freedom.

Because of their celebrity, the Crafts were constant targets of notorious bounty hunters. Particularly, two determined hunters, Willis Hughes and John Knight, traveled north from Macon to return the Crafts to slavery. They met with resistance and harassment from black and white Bostonians, who shuffled the couple around the city to elude their detection and recapture. Defeated, Hughes and Knight soon returned to Georgia.

In November, 1850, the Crafts fled to England, where they began a family, received formal education and continued their work as abolitionists. In June, 1851, they staged a demonstration against American slavery at the London Great Exhibition, one of the most memorable and influential exhibitions of the nineteenth century. The Crafts strolled arm-in-arm through the American section, to demonstrate the irony of



Ellen Craft



William Craft

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or safe-keeping, would respectfully solicit a share of public patronage.

Office Two Doors East of J. Bryan & Co., opposite
the State Bank.

E. M. BLOUNT.

W. C. DAWSON.

WM. WRIGHT.
Having based the above gentlemen my office in Jail, would take pleasure in
recommending them to my patrons and the public generally.

encountering more racial tolerance in England—which had banned slavery by 1838—than in the purportedly democratic United States. One year later, Ellen published an open letter in antislavery newspapers to refute savage rumors that she was tired of the responsibilities of freedom and wanted to be enslaved again. She declared:

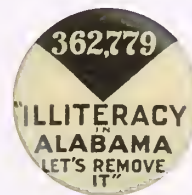
“I had much rather starve in England, a free woman,
than be a slave for the best man that ever breathed
upon the American continent.”

William Craft published his memoirs, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom*, in London in 1860. His book was critically acclaimed and widely read. Indeed, portions were reprinted in Arna Bontemps' noteworthy 1969 collection, *Great Slave Narratives*. [The actual 1860 volume was entirely reprinted in 1999 by the University of Georgia Press.]

In 1868, following the end of the Civil War, the Crafts returned to the United States with two of their children and settled in Ways Station, Georgia, near Savannah. During their nineteen years in England, William had become quite wealthy by creating lucrative commercial and mercantile agreements in West Africa. While in Ways Station, the Crafts bought and farmed an immense cotton and rice plantation, and also started a vocational school for black adults and children. In 1870, William Craft was elected, as a Republican, to the State Senate of Georgia. He served two terms in the State Senate, often facing hostility and animosity at home. Indeed, white neighbors burned down the school. They also viciously spread rumors that Craft had dipped into the school's till and had misappropriated charitable contributions. These groundless allegations caused Craft to file a lawsuit for slander, which he lost. The socio-economic ramifications of a black man suing whites pre-empted the actual merits of his case.

Ellen Craft died in 1891 and, at her request, was buried under her favorite tree on their Bryan County plantation. William, after Ellen's death, moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where he died in 1900. The Crafts' story of self liberation is one of the most remarkable slave narratives recorded. Their cunning, bravado, and success are unparalleled and simply amazing.

On March 21, 1996, Ellen Craft was inducted as a Georgia Woman of Achievement. Each year in March, during the national Women's History Month, GWA holds an induction ceremony to honor new inductees. Ironically, Ellen's induction ceremony took place in Macon.



Adam Clayton Powell Jr., “Keep the Faith, Baby!”

By Paul Rozycki

We all know history is made by heroes, but it is often the rascals who intrigue us most. Some of the most fascinating characters are a bit of both.

Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was a courageous and gallant crusader for minority opportunity and equal treatment in the years before the civil rights movement. He rose to become one of the most powerful African-Americans in the U.S. House and ended his days in scandal, rejected by his party, the Congress and the voters of Harlem.

Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was born in New Haven, Connecticut in comfortable middle class surroundings. He was educated at City College of New York, Colgate University and Columbia University in the early 1930s. His father was a minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, and a part-time real estate investor.

After completing his formal education and returning to Harlem, Powell emerged as an articulate and prominent civil rights activist. In the midst of the Great Depression, he organized marches, rent strikes and boycotts to create jobs and economic opportunities for Blacks. One of his best-remembered actions was a demonstration at the Empire State Building to force the 1939 World's Fair to hire and promote more Black employees.

In 1937 he succeeded his father as pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, and in 1941 was elected to the New York City Council as its first Black member. After a few years on the council, and a short stint as editor of the militant publication *The People's Voice*, Powell was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1944.

Powell was one of only two African-Americans in Congress at the time. Unlike the retiring and unassertive William Dawson of Illinois, Powell came to shake things up and end racial discrimination. In his first term he challenged the segregated dining rooms and barber shops in the U.S. Congress and clashed with the Southern segregationists of his own Democratic party. In the years that followed, Powell tried to stop segregation in the military, end Jim Crow laws in the South and integrate facilities in the Capitol.

Powell's conflict with southern segregationist Democrats led him to support Dwight Eisenhower for reelection in 1956. Two years later, New York City's Tammany Hall Democrats tried to defeat him for reelection. Powell survived and returned to Congress for his most productive years.

In 1961, with the Kennedy victory, he became Chair of the House Education and Labor Committee. During the Kennedy and Johnson years, Powell was a major force in passing key elements of JFK's "New Frontier" and LBJ's "Great Society" legislation.



AS
POWELL GOES-
-SO GOES
BLACK AMERICA

S. R. C.

JUSTICE
...for POWELL
...and HARLEM

S. R. C.

His committee passed a record number of bills for a single session of Congress. While he was chair, nearly 50 major pieces of legislation became law. Perhaps most notable was his frequent use of the "Powell Amendment," which would deny federal funds to any organization guilty of racial discrimination.

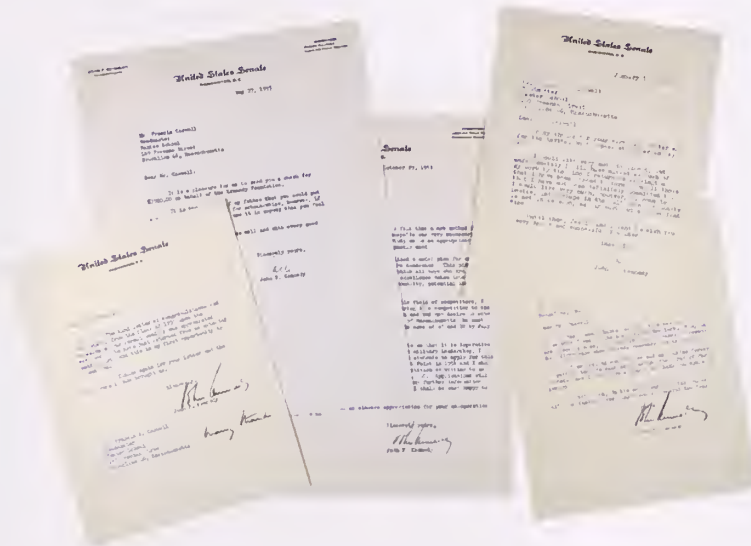
By the mid-1960s the civil rights movement was changing and growing, and Powell's flamboyant lifestyle was pulling him away from Washington. He was increasingly criticized for missing congressional meetings, taking expensive trips and paying less attention to his home district. After losing a slander suit, and refusing to pay the court ordered judgment, Powell was subject to arrest in New York. He spent more time in Florida and the Bahamian island of Bimini, avoiding arrest and his congressional duties. Profits from the sales of his record album "Keep the Faith Baby!" were used to pay some of the slander suit costs.

As a result of his absences, the Congress voted to strip him of his seniority and then voted to exclude him from the House of Representatives. In 1967, he won the special election to fill the vacancy caused by his expulsion. In 1969, the U.S. Supreme Court, in Earl Warren's last decision, ruled that the Congress acted unconstitutionally in denying him his seat. He returned to the House, but his habit of missing meetings continued.

In 1970 Charles Rangel, who still holds the seat, defeated Powell by 150 votes. Powell tried to form a third party, the People's Party, but failed to get on the ballot. Two years later Powell died and his ashes were scattered across the island of Bimini.

At the time of his death, Powell was remembered as a man who ended his days in loneliness, scandal and disgrace. Yet, in the days when he was one of the few Black political leaders on the national stage, he was a charismatic and courageous leader who led the struggle for civil rights at a time when there were few allies to be found.

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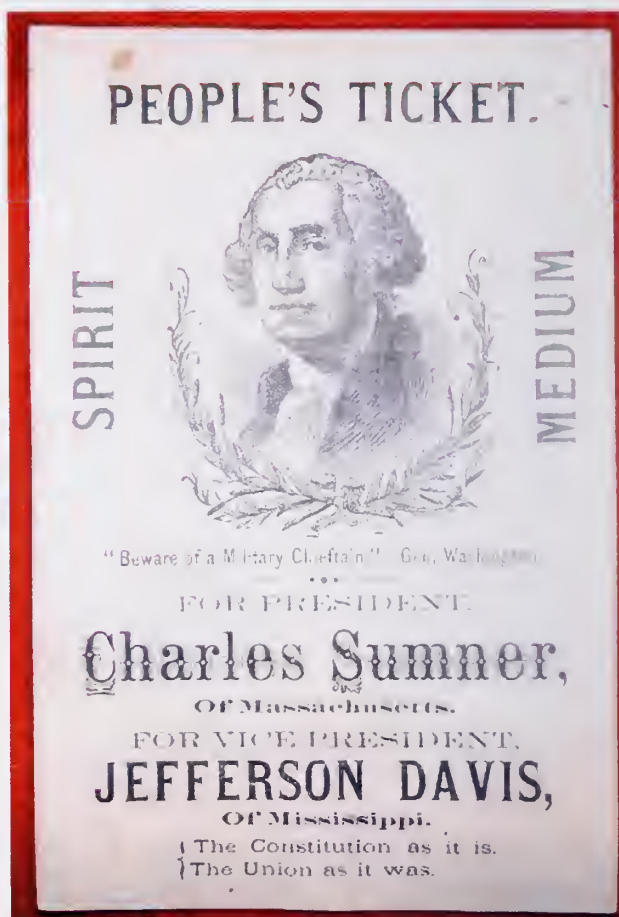
The Sumner/Chase Satirical Tickets

By Steve Baxley

Attributing a satirical political item can be particularly troublesome because not only has time separated the modern reader from the item's historical context, the satirical content sometimes makes the intent of the writer unclear.

The satirical tickets that accompany this article are often described as 1868 satirical hopeful items. However, the context and hidden meanings (to modern readers) in the graphics lead to a different conclusion. Looking at the Charles Sumner ticket first, we notice "People's Ticket" at the top. On each side of a portrait of George Washington is Spirit Medium. At the bottom is a quote, "Beware a Military Chieftain—Geo. Washington" followed by the heading, "For President, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts" and "For Vice President, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi". At the bottom is the slogan "The Constitution as it is. The Union as it was".

Looking at the Washington graphic first, one might be surprised to find that this is a reference to the 1872 Liberal Republican candidate for President, Horace Greeley. It appears that Washington never said "Beware of a military chieftain."



Three Charles Sumner cdv's (left and center are autographed by Sumner).

The Liberal Republicans accused Grant of using his office to gain power and wealth through patronage and ties to big business, certainly not a man with the character of Washington. But since Washington never made such a statement, this quote from Washington must have come through a spirit medium who could communicate with the dead. The irony is that Grant's supporters considered Grant a man like George Washington, First in War, First in Peace, and First in the Hearts of his Countrymen.



A definite connection exists between Greeley and spirit mediums. After the loss of his son, Pickie, Greeley became interested in a new fad in America—Spiritualism. Spirit mediums of the time used “table rappings” in attempts to communicate with the dead. Greeley conducted séances in his home. Kathy Fox of the famous Fox Sisters held a séance in the Greeley house that was attended by Jenny Lind, the Swedish soprano sent on an American tour by P.T. Barnum. This séance was only one of many held there. Though the ticket doesn't mention Greeley by name, readers at the time would have picked up the reference immediately. Most newspapers had denounced the Fox Sisters' rappings as a fraud.

People's Ticket is a satirical reference mocking the Liberal Republican Party because they were accusing the Republican Party of being a party that had allowed wealthy men to bribe and corrupt government leaders who were more concerned about their own welfare than the welfare of the common people.

The “For President/For Vice President” section builds its satirical impact from the Greeley image above. Greeley supported Grant for nomination in 1868, but became disillusioned with his performance during his first administration. Greeley had now turned his back on Republicanism and even aligned himself with the Democrats. One man who had also broken with Grant was Charles Sumner, who had once been a strong Republican leader and spokesman, but now opposed Grant.

In 1870, President Grant became very irritated with Senator Sumner's refusal to support his plan to annex Santo Domingo. When the Annexation Bill was defeated in the Senate, he used to his power to have Sumner removed as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Republican Carl Schurz of Missouri was also a strong opponent of the treaty. This conflict was one of the first signs of Republicans questioning Grant's leadership.

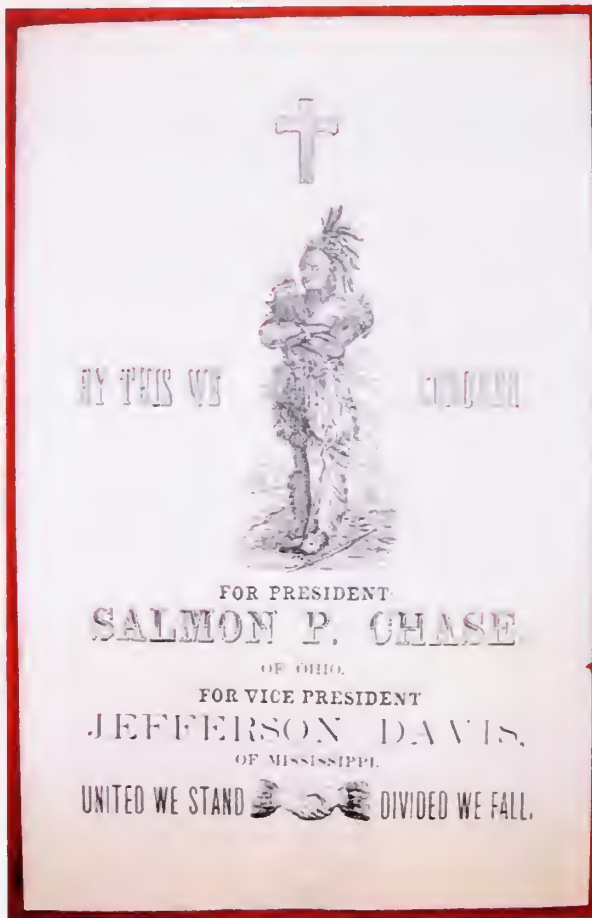
While Sumner did not endorse the Liberal Republican Party until July 22, 1872, he made a blistering speech in the Senate attacking Grant on May 31, 1872. The speech was reprinted under the title, “Republicanism vs. Grantism. The Presidency a Trust, Not a Plaything and Perquisite. Personal Government and Presidential Pretensions. Reform and Purity in Government”. The following quote provides an example of the harsh tone of the speech: “...assumptions have matured into a personal government, semi-military in character and breathing the military spirit,—being a species of Caesarism or personalism, abhorrent to republican institutions, where subservience to the President is the supreme law.”

The “Jefferson Davis for Vice President” reference associates the Northern traitor, Sumner, with the Southern traitor, Jefferson Davis. Davis had also been an opponent of the “militaristic” Grant. The slogan quoted is from the 1864 Democratic campaign. The reference to Greeley may be based on some reports that Greeley opposed Lincoln's bid for a second term and did not think he could win in 1864. Other reports deny that this was the case. In 1867, Greeley recommended the release of Jefferson Davis from prison and signed his bail bond.

The next ticket shows a cross at the top with the slogan “By This Sign (Tammany) We Conquer”. The classical reference for this phrase is based on the story that when Constantine was leading the Roman army in a crucial battle, he had a vision of a cross with these same words. He immediately converted to Christianity and the army won the battle. Constantine then made Christianity the state religion of Rome. In 1892, the Harrison and Reid campaign used this slogan with Harrison's famous top hat.

Tammany was the legendary chief who is said to have cleared the way for the colonists to live peaceably in the New World. After the American Revolution, many Americans substituted the celebration of St. Bartholomew's Day with St. Tammany's Day. The New York Tammany Society began in 1787 as a fraternal order. Tammany Hall of the Grant era was a political machine with great political influence.





"To be sure, there are two classes of Mr. Greeley's followers who cannot be accused of insincerity. If they do not really think he will make a wise, able and upright President, it is because they do not trouble themselves to think anything about the wisdom, ability, or integrity of the man they sustain. These classes—two in name, but one in character and purpose—are the Tammany Democrats and the Tammany Republicans."

As discussed in the first ticket, the For President/For Vice President section builds its satirical impact from the Greeley image above. Salmon P. Chase first broke with the Republicans over their failure to impeach Andrew Johnson. In 1868, he pursued the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. Chase was against military occupation of the South and favored general amnesty. He also wanted general manhood suffrage. A committee was formed to promote Chase for the Democratic nomination and Chase changed his mind about universal manhood suffrage soon after, deciding to leave the matter to the states. Chase was a hard money man and did not follow the Greenback ideas of George H. Pendleton, another Democratic Presidential hopeful. In New York, Chase's campaign headquarters was set up at the Charles House on 14th Street, just opposite the newly constructed Tammany Hall.



Chase lost the nomination to Horatio Seymour, the Governor of New York, who reluctantly accepted the nomination of a convention that had adopted a Greenback platform, though he was a hard-money Easterner himself. Chase lost the nomination despite the determined efforts of his eldest daughter, Kate Chase Sprague. Mrs. Sprague held lavish campaign parties on behalf of her father, and was really the campaign manager, directing every aspect of the campaign.

After suffering a stroke, Chase's chances for the 1872 Democratic Presidential nomination seemed slim. Chase did want Civil Service reform, a reduction in the tariff, and a reduction in the direct political influence of big business on Government leaders. By the time of the Democratic Convention, Chase's health had improved somewhat and he

The connection of the graphic with Greeley is somewhat obscure today. In a local dispute in New York City, a new political nickname appeared, "Tammany Republicans." In 1870, a feud developed between U.S. senators Reuben E. Fenton and Roscoe Conkling, both of New York. The feud began when Grant wanted a personal friend appointed to a local office over Fenton's choice. Conkling debated fiercely for the approval of Grant's choice and won the day.

To take complete control of these dissident New York City Republicans, pro-Conkling forces moved to reorganize the New York City Central Committee. The chairman of the committee was Horace Greeley. Conkling's men used patronage to establish a new committee committed to supporting Conkling and the pro-Grant forces. Greeley was a pro-Fenton man and he and his fellow committee members refused to recognize the new committee. Both factions attended the state convention held in 1871 to settle the dispute, but the Conkling forces were in the majority and selected the temporary chairman and credentials committee, which led to the approval of the new committee.

Greeley and the pro-Fenton delegation left the hall and held their own meeting. Many leaders there would later become members of the Liberal Republican Party. There was no movement for a third party movement, but this event was significant because there was little chance that the New York City pro-administration and anti-administration forces would resolve their differences in time for the 1872 election.

In an article published in the *New York Times* on June 27, 1872, the phrase Tammany Republicans was still used in reference to Greeley:

advised that Liberal Republicans and Democrats unite on one candidate. The pro-Grant forces considered Chase as big a traitor as Greeley. His quick reversal on universal manhood suffrage clearly associated him with Jefferson Davis.

One final note on Greeley and Jefferson Davis: On June 8, 1871, the *New York Times* published an editorial titled "Mr. Greeley and his Southern Friends", commenting on his recent first visit to the South, where he actually met Jefferson Davis: "With Jeff Davis going about the South talking of reviving the lost cause, at the head of triumphal processions, and bands of music playing 'Bonnie Blue Flag,' it is unfortunate that Mr. Greeley should have taken it into his head to hob-nob with the traitor, and talk about the North 'glorying in the glory' of Lee and Jackson."

The *Times* also accused Greeley of changing his mind about Grant's nomination for a second term only after his visit to the South, having been one of his earliest supporters for a second term when he was chairman of the New York Central Committee, a view he obviously held before the Fenton-Conkling feud.

The slogan "United We Stand Divided We Fall" is a reference to Greeley and Chase. Both men were traitors to the Republican cause, and division brings defeat, especially when one aligns oneself with the enemy (the Democratic Party).

These satirical tickets truly are time machines, enlivening our country's history. Having returned from our time travel journey, we now have a better understanding of some forgotten issues and personalities of 1872.

Remember Foraker and Brownsville

by Michael Kelly



When Theodore Roosevelt became President, Black Americans expected they had a champion in the White House. TR had fought with Black troops in Cuba and readily acknowledged their skill. In New York he was always supportive of Black citizens and his early presidential appointments included several African-Americans, not to mention the famous meal with Booker T. Washington.

But the Brownsville incident was a rare example of unfairness to Black Americans by President Roosevelt.

In July 1906, the First Battalion of the U.S. Army arrived in Brownsville, Texas after overseas duty in the Philippines. In those days of legal segregation, the First Battalion was composed of Black troops. The small community did not react well to armed Black men in their midst and almost immediately soldiers were confronted by racial discrimination and physical abuse.

A reported attack on a white woman during the night of August 12, 1906 infuriated many townspeople. The base commander, after consultation with the mayor, declared an early curfew the following day to avoid trouble. Around midnight on August 13, a brief shooting spree killed a local bartender and wounded a policeman. Despite darkness and distance, some residents claimed to have observed soldiers running through the streets shooting.

Subsequent investigations presumed the guilt of the soldiers but could not identify individual culprits. The troops denied any knowledge of the shooting but an Army Inspector General charged the troops with a "conspiracy of silence" and urged dismissal of the entire unit. Accordingly, on November 5 President Theodore Roosevelt summarily discharged "without honor" all 167 enlisted men of the unit.

Civil rights groups decried the lack of due process accorded the soldiers and claimed that politics drove the decision, including the presidential ambitions of TR's Secretary of War, William Howard Taft. Republican Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio urged a Senate investigation. Foraker, a longtime enemy of Roosevelt with presidential ambitions of his own, kept the issue alive for several years, suggesting that townspeople or outsiders had staged the raid to incriminate the Black troops. Taft's presidential victory, Roosevelt's retirement, and Foraker's failure to win Senate renomination, effectively closed the matter for more than sixty years.

In 1972, convinced by research critical of the government's handling of the affair, Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-California) urged justice for the debarred soldiers. The Nixon administration concurred and awarded honorable discharges without back pay. Still maintaining the battalion's innocence, Dorsie Willis, the only surviving veteran, received a \$25,000 pension.





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Black Mayors

By Fred W. Strickland, Jr.

In 1967 Carl Stokes became the first black mayor of a major U.S. city when he was elected mayor of Cleveland, Ohio. The son of a cleaning woman and a laundry worker, Stokes was raised in Cleveland's first federally-funded housing project for the poor. Stokes' first victory was over Seth Taft, grandson of President William Howard Taft. The election was a close one with Stokes winning only 50.5% of the vote. Mayor Stokes was reelected in 1969 and instituted several urban renewal projects for his city. He was able to mobilize both white and black voters. After leaving office, he became the first black T.V. station anchor in New York City.

Prior to 1967 no major US city had elected a black mayor since the days of Reconstruction when several cities in the South had black mayors. Also, in the early years of the civil rights movement it took an extraordinary and usually well educated black candidate to garner support from white voters. Usually the candidate needed a black majority to win. In recent years this has changed. Some candidates were smart enough to form a Black and Brown Coalition of blacks and Hispanics in order to win.

Briefly, what is a mayor? It comes from the Latin root *maior* meaning "larger or greater". In our system, the mayor is "the first among equals". In smaller cities the mayor is often a part time post and usually heads a city council while a professional city manager actually runs the city. In larger cities he is usually full time and has more power over a wide range of city services and departments. The first city with a population of over 100,000 to have a black mayor was Flint, Michigan where Floyd McCree was elected mayor in 1966 but McCree was actually the head of the city council while a manager handled daily operations.

It is no surprise that the ranks of Black mayors, like their white counterparts, include some interesting figures. We start with Ernest "Dutch" Morial of New Orleans. Like the Big Easy's present mayor, Ray Nagin of Hurricane Katrina fame, Morial was known for being confrontational and somewhat abrasive. Morial was from humble beginnings; his father was a cigar maker and mother a tailor. Dutch Morial served from 1978 to 1986 and was the first President of the black fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha. Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles was born son of a sharecropper and grandson of a former slave. He was instrumental in getting LA the 1984 Olympic Summer Games and was later offered a cabinet-level position in the Carter administration. One of his notable quotes was "I am not a black this or a black that. I'm just Tom Bradley."

The first black mayor of a major southern city was Maynard Jackson, who was only 35 when elected and was the nation's youngest mayor of a major city. Jackson initially served two terms, waited while his protégée former UN ambassador Andrew Young served two terms, then won the mayor's office again for a third term. Like Tom Bradley in 1984, Jackson was instrumental in getting the Summer Olympic Games to Atlanta in 1996.

David Dinkins was the first Black mayor of New York City, winning a narrow victory over Rudy Giuliani in 1989 but losing a rematch with Giuliani in 1993. He was a traditional Harlem Democrat. He was also part of a very influential group of black men that included Percy Sutton, Basil Peterson, Denny



**YOUNG
FOLKS
FOR
STOKES**



STOKES



**RETURN
Mc CREE**



Bradley

Farrell and Charles Rangel.

Wilson Goode of Philadelphia, son of tenant farmers from North Carolina, was elected that city's first black mayor in 1982. While Mayor Goode did many positive things for the city, he may be best remembered for the MOVE controversy. MOVE was a radical back-to-nature group that had been violating city sanitation codes. When city police tried to take over the MOVE headquarters with a smoke-bomb, a whole city block was burned to the ground.

Harold Washington was Chicago's first Black mayor. He was elected in 1983 and reelected in 1987 despite having spent thirty six days in the Cook County Jail for nonpayment of taxes. Other Black mayors also had problems paying their taxes, including David Dinkins of NYC, John Street of Philadelphia, Kwamie Kilpatrick of Detroit, Michael Coleman of Columbus, and others. Some black female mayors of note include Shirley Clark Franklin, Atlanta, Heather McTeer Hudson, Greenfield, Miss, and Shirley Pratt Dixon Kelly in Washington, DC. Many of the mayors have been left out, but we have limited space.

On a personal basis, I have to include Mayor Preston Daniels of Des Moines, Iowa. He was a former drug rehab counselor/rehabilitation specialist and a city councilman for seven years. He was elected mayor in 1997 and again in 2000. His thrust in government was the merger of city and county governments. Of note with Preston Daniels is the fact that he was elected mayor of a city with only a 6% black population. I helped in his campaigns, during which his active volunteers included both his current wife and ex-wife.

In the mid-80's I was in Philadelphia for a medical conference while the hotel was also hosting the annual national conference of Black mayors. I felt great personal pride and elation on meeting many of these men in the lobby and elevators at the hotel. I rode the elevators a lot until the mayors went home.

A Malcolm X quote comes to mind. "You don't need bullets when you have the ballot."



The upper left button supports Chicago Mayor Harold Washington but the button below it supports Washington, DC Mayor Walter Washington.



Other buttons from DC support controversial Mayor Marion Barry and oppose Mayor Sharon Kelly (who both followed and was replaced by Marion Barry).



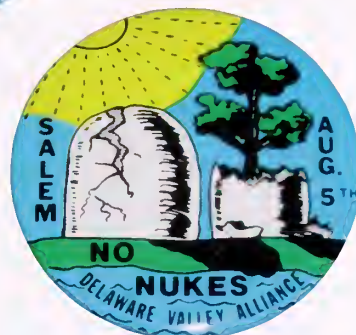
Above are buttons from two different Mayor Youngs. The button on the left supports Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young while that on the right supports Detroit Mayor Coleman Young.



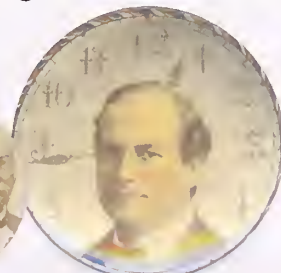
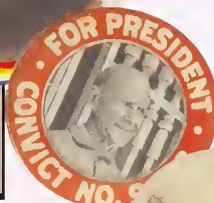
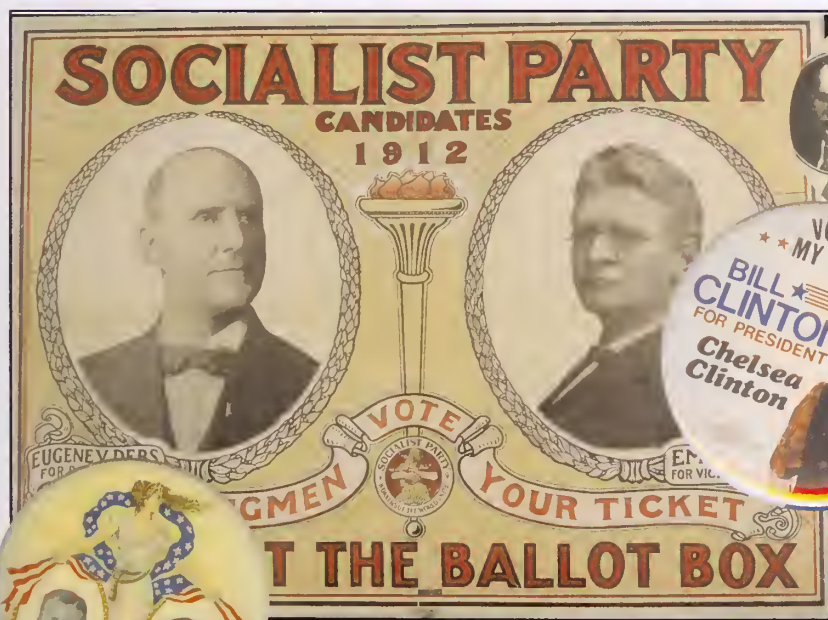
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Collecting History

National Sharecroppers Week and the UPWA

By Robert Fratkin

Collecting American history takes two paths. In one, having knowledge of history puts the collector in search of items that would represent a particular moment in America's past. For instance, looking for some collectible representations of the Manhattan Project which built the first atomic bombs during World War II seemed impossible because this was a deeply secret effort, but it turned out not to be. I was eventually able to find a matched pair of chest and hat security badges issued at the Oak Ridge, Tenn. uranium enrichment facility, imprinted "Manhattan Dist." [short for District]. I was pleased when they turned up since I had never expected to find anything for a secret project.

The other path is more exciting; finding an item for an event of which you were totally unaware. That leads to a search for information about the history of the item. Several months ago, at a local giant flea market, I purchased several items from a 1930s group put together by an active Socialist Party member during the period. Among them was a button for National Sharecroppers Week, an event I had never been aware existed. It turns out that there is very little information available, and as is sometimes the case, it was only several pages of a book whose main theme was the role of foundations in supporting the general labor movement. And better yet, the book was obtainable from Amazon. Bless the internet. With some effort, I found the author and was given permission to quote from his book, *Unlikely Partners: Philanthropic Foundations and the Labor Movement* by Richard Magat (Cornell University Press, 1999). Here is what I found:



As early as 1914, the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations (the Walsh Commission) was investigating conditions for tenant farmers. By the Depression, rural poverty in the South, pervasive for years, had reached an acute stage. More than eight million people were living desperate conditions, bordering on peonage, in the cotton fields. Most sharecroppers were black, and tenant farmers were generally white. (Tenant farmers, with their own tools and livestock, farm someone else's land, pledging one quarter to one third of the crop to the landlord. Sharecroppers, who provide only their labor, pledge the landlord close to half of what they raise.) Despite flagrant injustices of decades' duration, concerted action by agricultural workers was late in coming, given such elements of rural culture as individualism, poverty, illiteracy, disease and malnutrition, the plantation system of paternalism, and dependence on a single crop (cotton), to say nothing of the enduring antagonism between blacks and whites.

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU) was not only a union movement, but also a protest movement -- a unique biracial organization of sharecroppers, other tenant farmers, and some small businessmen, founded in Tryonza, Arkansas, in 1934, triggered by farm worker's exclusion from the New Deal's National Industrial Recovery Act and the stringencies of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Despite efforts by liberals in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) to protect landless farmers in the allocation of New Deal benefits, the policies and programs of the agency were discriminatory in their application: government payments were sent to landlords who refused to honor contract-sharing, and there was no enforcement. The AAA also provided incentives for mechanization, which, coupled with a sharp drop in cotton prices, drove thousands of agricultural workers -- about 20 percent -- off the land. Those who stayed were offered work as day laborers, a situation that allowed even more benefits to accrue to the landowner.

The founders of the STFU were two active Socialists, Harry L. Mitchell and Henry Clay East. Personally inspired by Norman Thomas, Mitchell and East decided to redirect their energies from organizing Socialist Party locals to organizing sharecroppers. The Reverend Howard Kester, Presbyterian and Congregational minister who was southern secretary of the New York-based Fellowship of Reconciliation, was sent to Arkansas as Thomas's personal representative.

In its active years, the STFU generated nationwide sympathy and support, a result in part of the terrorism (shootings, burnings, beatings, and jail) unleashed on both southerners and northerners by vigilantes and sheriffs deputies' who did the bidding of large-farm and plantation owners. Southerners hated the STFU especially because it was integrated. Kester and the activist Gardner Jackson, a wealthy railroad heir ousted from the AAA, led a nationwide consciousness-raising movement for funds; National Sharecropper Week, first held in 1937, stirred interest and support. Most funding however, came from the Garland Fund and the Strikers Emergency Relief Committee, the latter originally set up in New York City by the League for Industrial Democracy in 1929 to raise money for then striking cotton mill workers. Other donors included the ILGWU, the ACLU, the AFL, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, and some wealthy individuals.

The STFU's most memorable moment occurred in 1939, when, to call attention to the plights of evicted tenant farmers and sharecroppers, Owen Whitfield, a charismatic black minister and STFU organizer led a massive sit-down strike along the main highway between Memphis and St. Louis. The Farm Security Administration was forced to provide shelter and field kitchens for the destitute protestors.

More efficacious support of the STFU came in grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and Rosenwald Fund for path-breaking research on the entire framework of the South's land tenure system and its overdependence on cotton. Under the supervision of Rosenwald's president, Edwin R. Embree, the study was conducted jointly by Will W. Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University. The resulting book, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, closely examined the 1.1 million white and 699,000 black tenant farmers (whom the study referred to as "peasants"). Between 1920 and 1930, it noted, more than 200,000 whites became tenant farmers, mainly because they lost their land through foreclosure or sale, and at the same time black tenants decreased by some 2,000 (many blacks simply left to go to large cities of the South and North). Only governmental relief prevented wholesale starvation and rioting among black and white farmers in the South.

The violence that confronted the STFU prompted an extensive investigation by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, chaired by Robert La Follette (D.-Wisconsin), in 1936, but Roosevelt's disinclination to act against southern politicians during a reelection campaign (one of his closest allies in the Senate was Joe Robinson of Arkansas) forestalled a federal administrative investigation. After the election, however, Roosevelt laid the groundwork for passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act and the establishment of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) - both in 1937 - when he created the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, staffed by, among others, Alexander and Johnson, the co-authors of the Rosenwald/Rockefeller-funded study, and Edwin Nourse of Brookings. Nothing so comprehensive in approach as the committee's report had been fashioned since President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission in 1909.

Another interesting item is a button from the UPWA (United Packinghouse Workers of America) that I found on Ebay.

As labor unions gained strength in America in the twentieth century, they took two distinct paths, organizing into horizontal and vertical unions.

The American Federation of Labor was founded by Samuel Gompers in 1886 as a reorganization of its predecessor, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. Gompers was president of the AFL until his death in 1924. Less radical than the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Party or the International Workers of the World (IWW), the AFL was organized to represent craft unions, unions of employees across many companies that did the same jobs (Furriers, Teamsters, Carpenters, Machinists, etc.). This type of union organization became known as horizontal unionism.

The AFL was the largest union grouping in the United States for the first half of the twentieth century, even after the creation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) by unions that left the AFL in 1938 over its opposition to organizing mass production industries. While the AFL was founded and dominated by these craft unions throughout the first sixty years of its existence, many of its craft union affiliates turned to organizing on an industrial basis to meet the challenge from the CIO in the 1940s.

The AFL represented a conservative "pure and simple unionism" that stressed foremost the concern with working conditions, pay and control over jobs, relegating political goals to a minor role. Unlike the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, it saw the capitalist system as the path to betterment of labor. The AFL's "business unionism" favored pursuit of workers' immediate demands, rather than challenging the rights of owners under capitalism, and took a pragmatic, and often pessimistic, view of politics that favored tactical support for particular politicians over formation of a party devoted to workers' interests.

Originally named the Committee for Industrial Organization, the CIO was founded on November 9, 1935, by eight international unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor. In its statement of purpose, the CIO said it had formed to encourage the



AFL to organize workers in mass production industries along industrial union lines, which, in opposition to the AFL model of craft unions, became known as vertical unionism. The CIO failed to change AFL policy from within, and on September 10, 1936, the AFL suspended all 10 CIO unions (two more had joined in the previous year). These unions subsequently formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations as a rival federation in 1938.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) saw its role as organizing everyone in an industry from skilled workers to janitors into one union. Its biggest and best known unions were the United Auto Workers (UAW), United Steel Workers (USW), and the United Mine Workers (UMW).

The CIO was more aggressive and militant than the American Federation of Labor (AFL); its leaders were often younger and used more radical tactics. The CIO strongly supported Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal Coalition, and was notable for being open to African Americans. The CIO grew rapidly from 1936 to 1945, but so did the larger AFL. Certain leaders within the organization that were seen to be Communists were purged in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Battles for control over industrial sectors such as meatpacking and electric machinery made for a bitter and often violent rivalry with the AFL. The United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA) was affiliated with the CIO and sought to represent all non-management workers in the meatpacking industry.

In the 1940s, the UPWA won nationwide contracts with companies including the "Big Four" of meatpacking: Armour, Swift, Wilson, and Cudahy. In the 1950s and 1960s, the UPWA was at the forefront of union support for the civil rights movement and was a strong ally of Martin Luther King, Jr.. Historians regard the UPWA's civil rights activity as a prime example of social unionism.

This scarce UPWA Union Club button comes from the early 1950s as part of its efforts to promote equal civil rights for its African-American members.



Woodrow Wilson and "The Birth of a Nation"

Although memorialized by the New Deal generation of historians as a great progressive, Woodrow Wilson's record on race relations was not very good. One of his first moves upon taking office was to reinstate racial segregation in federal offices and require that all applicants for federal jobs submit photographs. In 1915, Wilson was drawn into the controversy around the explicitly racist American film masterpiece, D. W. Griffith's "The Birth of a Nation." The epic melodrama (originally titled "The Clansman") was based on a play by Wilson's old classmate Rev. Thomas Dixon Jr., a Baptist minister from North Carolina. Dixon arranged a screening at the White House for the President, members of his cabinet, and their families. Wilson was reported to have commented of the film that "it is like writing history with lightning. And my only regret is that it is all so terribly true." The new NAACP condemned the film for its racist portrayal of blacks, its pro-Ku Klux Klan stance, and its endorsement of slavery. Riots broke out in major cities. The resulting controversy only helped to fuel the film's box-office appeal, and it became a major hit.

Marcus Garvey for President

By Michael Kelly

"A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots."

- Marcus Garvey



It is one of the most unusual presidential items in the already diverse realm of Political Americana; the Marcus Garvey for President button. What makes this item particularly unusual is that it is promoting an American for president...of Africa.

Marcus Garvey was born in Jamaica on August 17, 1887 and became a printer and labor leader in his home country. After a failed strike, he was forced to leave Jamaica and spent several years traveling to various countries, eventually attending college in London. During these years Garvey became convinced that uniting Blacks was the only way to improve their condition, and so he returned to Jamaica in 1914 and founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). As the group's first President-General, his goal was to "unite all people of African ancestry of the world to one great body to establish a country and absolute government of their own".

After corresponding with Booker T. Washington, Garvey sailed to the U.S. in 1916 for a lecture tour to raise funds for establishment of a school in Jamaica modeled after Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Unfortunately, Washington had died before Garvey reached the U.S., but he did visit Tuskegee and afterward, he visited a number of Black leaders. Garvey then moved to New York where he worked as a printer and made increasingly visible speeches, including a 38-state speaking tour promoting social, political, and economic freedom for Blacks. In 1917 he helped form the first UNIA division outside Jamaica.

Surviving an assassination attempt in 1919, Garvey's reputation grew and by 1920, the UNIA claimed 4 million members. That year the International Convention of the UNIA was held with delegates from all over the world in attendance. Over 25,000 people filled Madison Square Garden that August 1 to hear Garvey speak.

Many economic development projects appeared under Garvey's direction including a grocery chain, restaurant, publishing house, shipping line and other businesses. Convinced that Blacks should have a permanent homeland in Africa, Garvey sought to develop Liberia. "Our success educationally, industrially and politically is based upon the protection of a nation founded by ourselves. And the nation can be nowhere else but in Africa."

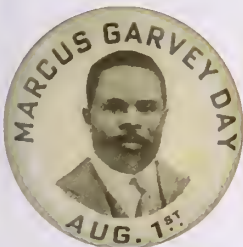
Garvey's success inspired fear and resentment in some quarters. The Bureau of Investigation (renamed the FBI in 1935) launched an investigation into the activities of Garvey and the UNIA. In 1923, Garvey was sentenced to five years in prison and began serving his sentence at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary on February 8, 1925. Two days later he penned his well known "First Message to the Negroes of the World from Atlanta Prison" wherein he makes the famous proclamation:

"Look for me in the whirlwind or the storm, look for me all around you, for, with God's grace, I shall come and bring with me countless millions of black slaves who have died in America and the West Indies and the millions in Africa to aid you in the fight for Liberty, Freedom and Life."

His sentence was eventually commuted by President Calvin Coolidge. Since Garvey had been convicted of a felony and was not a U.S. citizen, federal law required his immediate deportation. Upon his release in November 1927, Garvey was deported via New Orleans to Jamaica, where he was greeted as a hero.

For the rest of his life, Garvey worked for worldwide Black empowerment (sometime in cooperation with white supremacists) and died in London on June 10, 1940.

Garvey is best remembered as an important proponent of the Back-to-Africa movement, which encouraged those of African descent to return to their ancestral homelands. This movement would eventually inspire other movements, ranging from the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) to the Rastafarian movement, which proclaims Garvey to be a prophet.



Harper's Weekly cartoon from 1880 portraying Republican presidential nominee James Garfield as the defender of the Southern freedmen.

But growing southern pressure combined with declining northern interest ended Black voting power. By 1890, southern states began to disenfranchise Black voters. Literacy tests, poll taxes, and white primaries prevented many blacks from voting. Southern states and local governments gradually adopted laws that segregated Blacks while racial violence such as lynching and race riots became more common.

The last Black congressman elected until modern times was Republican George Henry White of North Carolina, first elected in 1897. His last term expired in 1901, the same year that the last president to have fought in the civil war, William McKinley, died and the year of the famous "Equality" dinner between President Theodore Roosevelt and Dr. Booker T. Washington.

No Blacks served in Congress for the next 28 years.

When a Black finally returned to Congress almost three decades later, he was again a Republican. In 1928, Oscar De Priest of Illinois, representing the South Side of Chicago, became the first Black congressman of the modern era. DePriest was also the last Black Republican in the House for 56 years.



Thomas Nast in Harper's Weekly from 1870 portraying Jefferson Davis as Iago from Shakespeare's "Othello" reacting to a Black man in his old Senate seat.

It was the Great Depression that saw the shift of Black voting patterns. The economic crisis that brutalized the white community was even more disastrous in the poorer Black community. FDR's New Deal offered hope and even a bit of actual help.

The switch from the GOP to the Democrats didn't happen overnight and certainly didn't come easily. There are a number of posters and fliers from the New Deal era that picture a young Black boy in a fighting stance with the caption "Who you calling a Democrat?" It was very hard for older Black voters to bring themselves to support a party that continued to accept segregation in the South even as it offered jobs and welfare in the North.

The New Deal era was one of the last times the two major parties seriously competed for Black votes. The Willkie campaign produced lots of Black-related material, including the famous Joe Louis buttons. A poster from the later Dewey campaign linked Missouri's Harry Truman with the Klan and pamphlets boasted of Dewey's leadership in Open Housing. Nonetheless, Black votes continued to move toward the Democrats



Ribbon from the 1868 Democratic campaign, perhaps the most openly racist presidential campaign ever run in the USA.



each election until President Dwight Eisenhower intervened in the Little Rock, Arkansas school desegregation crisis. The next Fall, Republicans issued a classic button showing Ike's picture above clasped black and white hands with the slogan "My Friend Ike". Although the survey techniques of 1956 didn't allow for an exact vote breakdown on racial lines, it

was clear that Ike had won nearly half of Black votes, the last time the GOP would win such numbers.

Black voters shifted to JFK over Nixon in 1960 but not by overwhelming numbers. In was the 1964 election that finally produced the lopsided margin for Democrats among Black voters. Although a thoroughly decent man personally, Sen. Barry Goldwater's "Southern Strategy" meant making an alliance with southern segregationists. Goldwater's vote against the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 and the switch of arch-segregationist Democrat Strom Thurmond to the GOP sent strong signals.

Despite being trounced nationally, Goldwater easily carried the Deep South, winning Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana and Georgia. The only other state he won was his home state of Arizona.

Yet it wasn't certain at the time that the relationship between Blacks and Republicans was doomed. In 1966, Republican Edward Brooke of Massachusetts was elected to the U.S. Senate, becoming the first Black senator elected by popular vote and the first Black senator since Blanche Bruce of Mississippi left that distinguished body in 1881.

But the "Southern Strategy" continued nationally and many Southern Dixiecrats followed Thurmond into the GOP. More and more Republicans began winning elections in the once-solidly Democratic South while GOP strength in its old Northeast and Midwest heartland began to fall off sharply.

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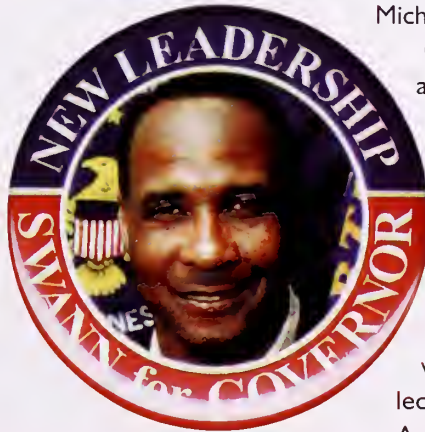
It wasn't until 1990, when Gary Franks of Connecticut won a seat in Congress, that a Black Republican returned to the House of Representatives. Four years later, Franks was joined by another Black Republican colleague, J.C. Watts of Oklahoma. Franks served three terms and was preparing for a Senate race when he neglected his district and was defeated for re-election. He ran against Sen. Chris Dodd the following election anyway, but failed to gain much support. Watts, however, had a strong career in the House, rising to the post of Chairman of the House Republican Conference, the fourth highest position of leadership in the House of Representatives, until he voluntarily retired after four terms.

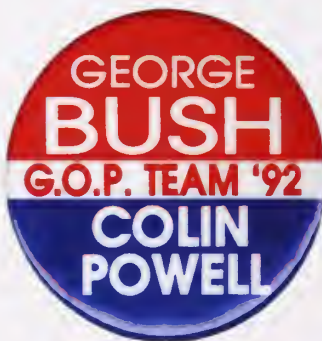
On the presidential level, two Black Republicans have made an impression. General Colin Powell was boosted as a presidential possibility in 1996 and 2000 while Ambassador Alan Keyes ran for president in 1996 and 2000, making good showings in Iowa and Utah. As 2008 approached, political strategist Dick Morris and others promoted Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice as a presidential possibility but the drop in public support for the Bush administration made that campaign unlikely.

The 2006 mid-term election saw a strong presence of Black Republican candidates, led by Maryland Lt. Governor Michael Steele, who ran a strong race for the Senate.

Other major GOP candidates were Ohio gubernatorial nominee Ken Blackwell, Pennsylvania gubernatorial nominee Lynn Swann and Michigan senatorial hopeful Keith Butler. It turned out to be a Democratic year and none of them were successful (although Steele came close) but it indicated a rising acceptance of Black candidates by Republican primary voters as well as a rising conservatism among some Black voters.

The story of Black Republicans is an ongoing one with many twists and turns yet to come. It is a neglected but fascinating part of the rich tapestry of American politics.





Left column: Colin Powell promoted as a running mate for Bob Dole and George Bush. Upper right: Michael Steele of Maryland was elected Lt. Governor in 2002 and almost won a

Senate seat in 2006. Middle and right: Black Republican buttons from Nixon's 1972 campaign. Bottom center: In 2006 Ken Blackwell joined the distinguished list of Ohio GOP gubernatorial nominees but lost in November.

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